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SAM RAYBURN IN THE WILSON ADMINISTRATIONS,  
1913-1921

Alexander Graham Shanks

## 1. Introduction

The successful men in the House, the men who effectively influenced the House, first entered the House while they were still in their thirties or even younger. James G. Blaine<sup>1</sup>

A man past forty . . . normally had already developed his mental attitudes and habits; he must be younger, more flexible and more resilient intellectually to master the intricacies of the House's complicated procedures and methods. Sam Rayburn<sup>2</sup>

The prospects of his first visit to the nation's capital and being a member of the United States House of Representatives excited the ambitious thirty-one year old Samuel Taliaferro Rayburn, congressman of the Fourth District of Texas. On February 27, 1913, Rayburn, eager to earn his place of recognition, boarded the train at Bells, Texas for the long trip to Washington.<sup>3</sup> Before embarking, Rayburn discarded his middle name, Taliaferro, pronounced (Toll-i-ver), and became simply Sam Rayburn—a name he considered more befitting a representative of his rural Texas district. Accompanied by Hatton Summers, congressman-elect from Dallas, and Hal C. (Spec) Horton, Rayburn's newly employed secretary, Rayburn arrived in Washington in time to get settled in his quarters in the old Cochran Hotel before the inauguration of Thomas Woodrow Wilson.<sup>4</sup>

Sam, the eighth child of William Marion and Martha Waller Rayburn, moved to Fannin County, Texas, from east Tennessee in 1887, when he was five years old. He grew up on a small farm; attended public schools in Burnett and Flag Springs; and completed the curriculum at Mayo College, (today East Texas State College), in three years despite his economic limitations, which forced him to work his way through school. In 1906, at the age of 24, he won by a narrow 163 vote margin, and became a representative in the lower house of the Texas state legislature.<sup>5</sup>

In Austin, Rayburn was a member of the transportation oriented Committee on Common Carriers, the Committee on Constitutional Amendments, the Committee on Education, the Committee on State Asylums, the Committee on Banks and Banking and the Free Conference Committee, which had the difficult task of settling differences between bills passed by the two houses of the Texas legislature.<sup>6</sup> Rayburn was a "Man's Man," and his integrity, loyalty and modesty made him popular with his fellow legislators. He understood the game of politics, and he developed a thorough grasp of legislative and parliamentary procedures. While a member of the Texas legislature, he entered the University of Texas Law School and passed the bar examination in 1908. Some members of the Texas legislature sensed that Rayburn was an unusual man with a promising political career ahead of him. One such legislator was Samuel Ealy Johnson, Jr., the representative from Johnson City, and the father of Lyndon Baines Johnson.<sup>7</sup>

On January 10, 1911, during his third term, Rayburn defeated C. E. Gilmore, of Van Zandt County, 71 to 65, and, at twenty nine became the youngest speaker in Texas history. Rayburn's victory resulted from the following: first, the withdrawal of Jeff Cox, of Rockwall County, the third candidate in the speakership race (eleven of the fourteen votes promised to Cox went to Rayburn); second, the support of Governor Oscar Branch Colquitt; third, Senator Joseph Weldon Bailey's last minute efforts in Rayburn's behalf; fourth, Rayburn's ability to be fair and to work with different factions, such as the anti-prohibitionists; fifth, the prohibition issue plummeted him into the limelight; sixth, there was a fast turnover in the Texas legislature, which enabled a young congressman to advance more rapidly than in the United States House of Representatives; and seventh, certain members of the Texas House recognized Rayburn as an extraordinary man.<sup>8</sup>

Rayburn did not seek a second term as Speaker. On February 7, 1912, he announced his candidacy for the House of Representatives. Senator Bailey, because of the rising progressive sentiment and his "questionable" relationship with the oil companies, refused to run for reelection. In 1912, Choice B. Randell, the incumbent representative of the Fourth District vacated his congressional position to seek Bailey's senate seat.

The Fourth District, as constructed by the Texas legislature, included Fannin (44,801), Grayson (65,996), Rains (6,787), Hunt (48,116), and Collin (49,021) counties. The District contained an electorate living on farms, ranches or in small towns with less than 25,000 inhabitants. The 1910 Census of the United States lists the largest towns of the district as follows: Denison (Grayson)- 12,412; Greenville (Hunt)- 8,850; Bonham- 4,844; and McKinney (Collin)- 4,714.<sup>9</sup> Less than one per cent of the inhabitants of Fannin County were foreign born; over eighty seven per cent of the inhabitants were native Caucasians. Many of the rugged soft spoken inhabitants of the Fourth District were the descendants of Kentucky and Tennessee frontiersmen.<sup>10</sup>

In his campaign speeches, Rayburn, a self-proclaimed Jeffersonian Democrat, supported free trade, representative government, special privilege for none, an income tax, state rights, a federal inheritance tax, the direct election of senators, the right of labor to organize, and the abolition of the electoral college. The congressional race ended on July 27, 1912, with the following results: Rayburn, 4,983; Thomas Perkins, State Senator, 4,493; B. L. Jones, Judge of the Fifteenth Judicial District, 4,365; W. J. Gibbons, 3,790; Tom Wells, 1,961; none of the other candidates received 800 votes.<sup>11</sup> Hunt and Fannin counties provided Rayburn with his 490 vote plurality. Under the prevailing election rules of the Texas Democrats, the candidate with a plurality in the first primary was the winner. The Fourth was a Democratic district with no sizeable Republican opposition.<sup>12</sup>

## 2. Committee Assignment

In the Democratic controlled House, the Sixty Third Congress included James Beauchamp (Champ) Clark, of Missouri, the venerable Speaker, somewhat embittered by his defeat in the 1912 Democratic convention; Oscar W. Underwood, of Alabama, Democratic Majority Leader, and chairman of the powerful House Ways and Means Committee; James A. Mann, of Illinois,



the House Minority Leader, Claude Kitchin, of North Carolina; Cordell Hull, of Tennessee; and Robert Lee Henry, the tall, angular and influential chairman of the House Rules Committee. The House was in a reform mood as a result of the 1912 elections, in which the two reform candidates, Wilson, the second Democratic president since the Civil War, and Theodore Roosevelt of the Progressive Party, both ran well ahead of William Howard Taft, the conservative Republican presidential nominee.

Rayburn quickly struck up a friendship with Martin Littleton, a New York congressman, the son of a friend of Sam's father in east Tennessee. Littleton introduced Rayburn to his fellow Texan John Nance Garner, a ten year congressional veteran. Garner told Rayburn that he could not become a member of the House Ways and Means Committee, the Appropriations Committee, or the Rules Committee—the Three most prestigious House committees. The three committees were well stocked with Texans; the House leadership usually did not place freshmen congressmen on them. Garner, a member of the Ways and Means Committee, agreed to use his influence to try to obtain Rayburn a position on the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, which handled legislation pertaining to commerce, bridges, coal, oil, communication, motion pictures, securities exchanges, holding companies and the Coast Guard.

Rayburn, one of 114 Freshmen Democratic representatives, was fortunate to receive on June 3, 1913, an influential appointment on the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. The members of this committee, one of the twelve semi-exclusive House committees, could not be members of any other standing committee. Garner, who played a significant role in Rayburn's appointment, skillfully argued that Rayburn was not a greenhorn congressman, but an experienced legislator and the former speaker of the Texas House.<sup>12</sup> Alben William Barkley, of Kentucky, also became a member of the same House committee during the First Session of the Sixty Second Congress. Because of a procedural technicality, Barkley was elected, not appointed, to the committee—Barkley had seniority over Rayburn.<sup>14</sup>

### 3. Rayburn Assumes an Active Role

Rayburn wasted little time in plunging into the House debates. His maiden speech, delivered on May 6, 1913, only two months after Wilson's inauguration, concerned the Underwood Tariff Bill—the first part of Wilson's New Freedom. Rayburn broke with the long established custom of the House, which required freshmen congressmen to keep quiet on the House floor. The agrarian congressman, a partisan Democrat, lambasted the Republican Party, for its insistence on a high protective tariff policy. The Democratic Party, since it came into existence, has believed that the burden of taxation should fall primarily on those most able to pay. Continuing his attack, he asserted;

The system of protective tariffs built up under the Republican misrule has worked to make the rich richer and the poor poorer. The protective tariff has been justly called the mother of the trusts. It takes from the pockets of those least able to pay and puts it into the pockets of those most able to pay.

Rayburn concluded that the embittered consumers had turned the Republicans "out of the high places of power and called the party of Jefferson and Jackson again to power."<sup>15</sup>

The Underwood bill passed the House by an overwhelming 281 to 139 vote. After Wilson, a believer in strong presidential leadership, dramatically denounced the "extraordinary exertions" of the "insidious" lobbyists of the special interests, the Senate gave its approval. In its final form, the Underwood Simmons Tariff of 1913, the first thorough going downward revision of the tariff since the Walker Act of 1846, substantially lowered the rates of the Payne Aldrich Bill from about 37 to 29 per cent, and included a provision for an income tax upon individuals and corporations. Both of these provisions pleased Rayburn; he had endorsed a lower tariff and income tax in his 1912 campaign speeches.

#### 4. Rayburn's Stock and Bond Bill

On April 29, 1914, Rayburn introduced his Railway Stock and Bond Bill, a measure which Wilson's biographer, Ray Stannard Baker, called the "capstone of Wilson's programme."<sup>16</sup> This bill, along with the Clayton Anti-Trust Act and the Covington Trade Commission Bill were the three components of Wilson's anti-trust program.<sup>17</sup>

The Rayburn bill, after revisions to meet the objections of committee members, contained three major provisions. First, greater publicity through the Interstate Commerce Commission of all information pertaining to the issuance of railway stocks and bonds. Second, railroad corporations could issue stock only for certain specified purposes, and then only with the approval of the ICC. Third, that two years after the passage of this act, a person could not be a director or officer of more than one railroad, or receive money, or other form of remuneration from the sale of railroad stocks and bonds.<sup>18</sup>

The House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee reported the Rayburn bill on May 7, 1914, with a few minor revisions.<sup>19</sup> On June 2, William Charles Adamson of Georgia, the committee chairman, and a "tall, powerful man with alert eyes and thick brown hair," told the House he took great "pleasure in yielding to the distinguished gentleman from Texas, the author of the bill, who although a young member, is old in wisdom and accomplishment." From the beginning, Rayburn was an important figure on the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee.<sup>20</sup>

Rayburn explained to the House that his Stock and Bond bill resembled an earlier bill adopted by Texas under the leadership of Governor James Stephen Hogg, and supported by John H. Reagan, the well known Texas advocate of railroad regulation. Rayburn wanted the transportation business to be divorced "as nearly as possible from entangling alliances with other businesses." He believed that Congress had power "over all matters that affect the carrier in trying to carry out its contracts with the public to do an interstate business;" and maintained that proper publicity upon the business transactions and associations of men would be a great factor in reducing reprehensive commercial practices.<sup>21</sup> He criticized the existing federal laws which allowed the railroads to load themselves down with watered stock and



spurious securities. In his concluding remarks, Rayburn asserted that the Democratic party was not the enemy of capital or big business.

We know that there must be large aggregations of capital to carry on the great and growing business of the country; hence we would be more foolish to do anything that would hinder or retard the growth of the country. We intend to do simple justice, and on the other hand, we are determined that business shall deal justly with the people.<sup>22</sup>

On June 5, 1914, the House approved the Covington Trade Commission bill by a voice vote, the Clayton Anti-Trust bill, 275-54, and the Rayburn bill, 325-12. Rayburn supported all three measures; his role was of great significance in the passage of the trust program.<sup>23</sup>

The freshman congressman had skillfully maneuvered his bill through the House, and rendered valuable service to the Wilson administration. Rayburn and Wilson were not close friends and seldom saw each other, but they had respect for each other. Rayburn later remarked that Wilson had the best mind of all presidents that he served with from 1912 to 1961. On June 9, President Wilson wrote Rayburn:

We have looked with admiration and genuine appreciation as your Stock and Bond bill has been put through the House. It seems to me you deserve a great deal of praise for your part in the matter, and I want to make my humble contribution to the congratulations which I am sure you must be receiving.<sup>24</sup>

But the Rayburn bill ran into trouble in the Senate. Judge Robert S. Lovett, President of the Union Pacific Railroad; A. H. Harris, General Counsel for the New York Central; Edward F. Ripley, President of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe; and other railroad executives argued that the Rayburn bill would force the solvent railroads into bankruptcy. Louis Brandeis, a brilliant Jewish lawyer, legislative counsel for the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee, and administration stock consultant, argued that the ICC was already overworked, and that "the approval of the committee would be construed as a sort of government guarantee."<sup>25</sup>

The Senate Interstate Commerce Committee reported the Rayburn bill, but the outbreak of World War I, numerous railroad defaults in 1914, and opposition from railroad executives, state rights southerners, and ultra-progressives, kept the Senate from passing the Rayburn bill in 1914. A companion measure, providing for regulation of the stock exchanges, prepared by Senator Robert Worn of Oklahoma, and Samuel Untermeyer, never received Wilson's approval and died in the Senate.<sup>26</sup>

In 1915, Rayburn reintroduced his Stock and Bond bill. Wilson, afraid that the Rayburn bill would add fuel to Republican charges that the Democrats were hostile to big business, asked Adamson to pigeon-hole the bill in his committee. Frustrated by the side tracking of his bill, the second term congressman nagged Adamson into arranging him a presidential interview. Rayburn, unable to change Wilson's mind, left with the tart remark, that

he was sorry, but he could not agree with the President.<sup>27</sup> On February 21, 1920, Congress passed the Transportation Act of 1920, (Esch-Cummings) which contained the provisions of the Rayburn bill.

#### 5. Modification of the Carmack Amendment

On April 16, 1914, Rayburn introduced an amendment to the Carmack amendment of the Interstate Commerce Act, which provided that "when any man ships goods on a railroad of this country, if those goods are lost, damaged or destroyed, that the railroad should be held responsible to the owner thereof for the full value of the goods."<sup>28</sup> Under the Carmack Amendment of 1906, the bill of lading contained two rates, the lower rate applied if the shipper consented to the limited liability of the railroad, and the higher rate if the railroad agreed to pay the full value of the property shipped in the event of loss. The southwestern cattle shippers complained that if they chose the lower and reasonable rate, they ran the risk of getting only \$10 for a steer that might be worth \$75 in case it was killed in transit.<sup>29</sup> Before the Carmack amendment, state liability statutes established conditions of railroad liability, but the Supreme Court ruled that the state liability statutes were no longer in effect in interstate commerce; the Carmack amendment, which dealt with liability under bills of lading, "contained all the legislation which Congress desired should be in force upon the general subject."<sup>30</sup>

The Rayburn amendment went through the House, and a similar amendment, sponsored by Senator Cummings of Iowa, received the Senate's approval. By this clever maneuver, Rayburn had endeared himself to the livestock shippers and farmers of the Fourth District.<sup>31</sup>

#### 6. Voting Record

Rayburn usually, although not always, supported the Wilson Administration. He voted for the Federal Reserve Act of 1913, the "greatest single piece of constructive legislation of the Wilson era," but he had little to do with its formation and passage.<sup>32</sup> He supported the Smith-Lever Act of 1914, which provided a national system of agricultural extension work on a fifty-fifty basis, and the land-grant colleges; Wilson's policy, to repeal the exemption of the United States vessels from Panama Canal tolls; and the rural post roads bill. In addition, on January 12, 1915, the unchivalrous Rayburn voted against women's suffrage.<sup>33</sup>

Rayburn did not always go along with the administration leaders in order to get along. Rayburn advocated immigration restriction via the use of a literacy test, against the wishes of the President.<sup>34</sup> In addition, Wilson supported a bill providing for federal inspection and licensing of cotton warehouses in order to facilitate borrowing by farmers against warehouse receipts. The Senate approved the measure without a roll call vote, and extended coverage to tobacco, naval stores, canned salmon, flaxseed and grain. But Easterners and southern agrarians like Rayburn and Henry Sisson of Mississippi cast the key votes on October 5, 1914, and barely defeated the administration's motion to suspend the rules in order to pass the Lever Cotton Warehousing bill. Rayburn and the southern agrarians, supported the Henry bill, which provided for a deposit of \$250,000,000 in government funds to be loaned to cotton producers, but on October 21, 1914, the House defeated



the Henry bill 123 to 91.<sup>35</sup> Despite considerable administration pressure, including a personal appeal from the President, the stubborn cotton rebels refused to budge; they wanted their own bill or none at all.<sup>36</sup>

In the Wilson years, Rayburn adhered to a consistent political philosophy. He usually supported segregation, immigration restriction, prohibition, national preparedness, the income tax, government economy, state rights and federal aid to agriculture. On February 9, 1916, he introduced an amendment to reduce the number of proposed patent examiners from five to three, but the House rejected the Rayburn amendment, 44 to 22.<sup>37</sup> On January 8, 1917, he voted against an amendment to increase the salaries of government employees in the Department of Agriculture; the House passed the amendment, 279 to 33. Rayburn voted for the National Defense Act, the Naval Appropriations Act of 1916, the President's Continental Plan, the Shipping Act of 1916, and the Agricultural Appropriation bill.<sup>38</sup> He supported the Warehouse Act, a Grain Standard Act, the Federal Farm Loan Act (provided \$500,000 for each of the farm loan banks), the Revenue Bill of 1916 (established an income tax as high as ten per cent), the workmen's compensation bill for federal employees, the Jones Act of 1916 (liberalized the government of the Philippine Islands, and promised the Filipinos independence), and the Adamson Act (provided overtime pay for railroad workers after eight hours a day in an effort to prevent a nationwide railroad strike).<sup>39</sup>

Rayburn, not in the progressive camp on the child labor issue, opposed the Keating-Owen child labor bill to prohibit goods in interstate commerce produced by child labor. The House passed the amendment by an overwhelming 337 to 46 vote.<sup>40</sup> Rayburn explained to the voters of the Fourth District that he was "an earnest advocate of child labor laws that are enforced by local authorities. I can see no reason for the federal government to force its hands into our local affairs."<sup>41</sup>

## 7. His Routine

In these early years in the House of Representatives, Rayburn developed a fairly definite routine which he consistently followed. He arose at seven and took exercise before a breakfast of honey, toast, eggs, bacon and coffee. He then made the long walk to his office in the old Malthy Building. By 1914, Rayburn had moved over to Garner's office in the House Office Building, because Garner's wife did most of his secretarial work at home.<sup>42</sup>

Rayburn used his mornings for answering mail, running errands for constituents, and for attending committee hearings. Judge Adamson reported that Rayburn seldom missed a committee meeting, and was a glutton for work. In the afternoons, Rayburn attended the House sessions, and in the evenings retired to the Cochran Hotel. For dinner, he preferred corn on the cob, string beans, steak or chicken, and blueberry or apple pie. He avoided sandwiches, spices and pepper, and kept to a country style menu, except for an occasional Mexican dinner.

A man of rigid and conservative habits, the serious minded Rayburn had little time for frivolity, booze and women. He avoided Washington's social life, refused to play poker, steered clear of drinking bouts and hangovers, and was content with an occasional bourbon and water. Rayburn and Sum-



mers, the two bachelor members of the Texas congressional delegation, did attend a party given by Senator and Mrs. Ollie James, in honor of Miss Nancy O'Donahough, of Philadelphia. Rayburn seemed little interested in women, and spent few evenings with feminine companions. He preferred to discuss politics, a moot point in American history, or his cattle and crops on his Fannin County farm. He enjoyed an occasional movie or game of golf.<sup>44</sup> These extracurricular activities were not debilitating, and did not prevent him from receiving his habitual nine hours of sleep.

#### 8. Rayburn Makes Valuable Contacts

By 1916, influential House Democrats had noticed Rayburn. Champ Clark, the venerable Democratic House Speaker, did not consider him brilliant, but regarded Rayburn as able, friendly, self-composed and a potential House leader. Clark advised him to broaden his horizons by studying the lives of Thomas Jefferson, Thomas Hart Benton, and other great American statesmen, and to study the legislative methods of James Knox Polk and William Hobart McKinley—both able members of the House. Adhering to this constructive advice, Rayburn broadened his knowledge and grasp of American history and politics, and developed a profound respect for McKinley's legislative and executive talents.<sup>45</sup>

Rayburn was a welcome guest at Garner's informal drinking and business sessions. These sessions of prominent House members developed into the "Board of Education," an informal institution with considerable influence in the operations of the House. Democratic and Republican party leaders skillfully used the "Board" to educate young members in parliamentary practice and strategy, and to cull knowledge from young congressmen. "Cactus Jack" Garner asserted: "You get a couple of drinks in a young congressman and then you know what he knows and what he can do. We pay the tuition by supplying the liquor."<sup>46</sup> The "Board of Education" supported its patrons; it also helped the young men to advance. Rayburn's selection to membership in this body brought him to the attention of his fellow congressmen, and enabled him to display his ability, and to master the tricks of the trade.<sup>47</sup> He usually followed the lead of Garner, his elder by several years, and his senior in service by a decade.

Rayburn's membership on the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, and his admission to the "Board of Education" were the result of the beneficial alliance between the two Texans. But Rayburn was different from Garner. From northeast Texas, Rayburn put "no great stock in money for itself, or property for itself, except for the proper maintenance of one's family . . . and a proper station in life, and therefore did not really fear economic reform, not even sweeping economic reform."<sup>48</sup> Having experienced poverty, he took an interest in the little man, and was more sympathetic for those who failed.<sup>49</sup>

Garner was a showy, aggressive *nouveau riche* Westerner. Possessing considerable ranch holdings, Garner vigorously opposed federal interference with his own use of cheap labor. John L. Lewis later called Garner a "labor-baiting, poker-playing, whiskey-drinking evil old man." Having the Southerner's and the Westerner's distrust of Wall Street, he championed the se-

curities and holding company legislation of the New Deal.<sup>30</sup> During Garner's life "changes weakened the heritage of southern traditionalism, revolutionized the economy, and made Texas more western than southern." Texans did not have the Mississippian's obsession about the Negro. Their major concern was "money and how to make it, about oil and sulphur and gas, about cattle and dust storms and irrigation, about cotton and banking and Mexicans . . ."<sup>31</sup>

## 9. World War I

In the second Wilson Administration, foreign affairs took precedence over domestic affairs. Rayburn, who admitted that he did not have a profound grasp of foreign affairs, believed as most Americans, that the United States could stay out of World War I; but on April 5, 1917, he voted for Wilson's war declaration.<sup>32</sup> Rayburn, a thirty-five year old legislator, enjoying his third term in the House of Representatives, did not resign his congressional seat to become a member of the United States armed forces.

Rayburn played a significant role in House legislation to establish war insurance, compensation and vocational rehabilitation for American servicemen involved in World War I.<sup>33</sup> The insurance bill, as reported by the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, sought to end the pension system, and to place administrative control of war insurance and compensation to servicemen under the Bureau of War Risk Insurance and the Treasury Department.<sup>34</sup> The bill allowed servicemen to take from \$1,000 to \$5,000 insurance at \$8 per thousand, the normal peacetime rate, instead of \$58 per thousand, the private wartime insurance rate. At Rayburn's insistence the House amended the bill and raised the limit from \$5,000 to \$10,000.<sup>35</sup> From September 7 to 13, 1917, Rayburn led the proponents of the bill in the House debate. The servicemen's bill, more liberal and comprehensive than that of any other nation involved in World War I, protected the single man, and provided hospitalization and compensation for soldiers, their widows, and their orphans.

In addition, the Congress passed a bill, providing federal aid for vocational rehabilitation. Rayburn, an active proponent of the bill, asserted on the House floor on June 8, 1918, that the purpose of the bill was

to rehabilitate—to prepare a man mechanically, as near as we can, to what he was before—and not to go into all kinds of professions, not try to teach a man to be a doctor or a lawyer or a preacher . . . It is rehabilitation and reeducation, not to start out and teach professions of one kind, and the other to make him independent and self-sustaining, if possible.<sup>37</sup>

## 10. Government Ownership of the Railroads

In World War I, Rayburn supported government ownership of the railroads as a wartime measure, but was active in efforts to return the railroads to their private owners upon the termination of the war. On January 3, 1917, Rayburn's objection blocked unanimous consideration of Adamson's proposal to extend the life of the Newlands Railway Investigating Committee for one year.<sup>38</sup> On February 2, 1918, the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, by a 15 to 6 vote, amended the administration's railroad bill, "so as to fix the period that the railroads shall remain under the operation



of the Government as two (2) years following the proclamation by the President of a ratification of a treaty of peace." The administration Democrats were unable to prevent the conservatives from establishing a definite date for the termination of governmental control.<sup>59</sup>

In supporting the termination of government control of the railroads, Rayburn argued that wages were higher under capitalism, and that government ownership would destroy the Republic. He contended: "I want to see all of these war powers repealed and the Government get out of these expensive and socialistic businesses. I want to get back to normal."<sup>60</sup> Rayburn asserted that he wanted "to protect the public. . . and the honest laboring man (from the agitator) who goes around to disseminate his doctrines among peaceful, lawabiding, and satisfied men, in order to collect a fee. . ."<sup>61</sup> He attacked Gompers and other labor leaders for only endorsing legislation, which would provide for government ownership of the railroads. These efforts and his opposition to the Plumb Plan, which provided for government ownership of the railroads, and for union participation in the management and profits of the railroads, incurred the opposition of the railway unions.<sup>62</sup>

In his third and fourth terms, Rayburn kept his consistent pattern. He voted for the ill-fated prohibition amendment and against women's suffrage. In the second Wilson administration, he voted for the Transportation Act of 1920, the Espionage Act, the Sedition Act, the Lever Food Control Act, the Soldiers Bonus Bill, the Wilson defense program, the General Leasing Act, the Water Power Act, and the passage of the Burnett immigration bill over the President's veto.<sup>63</sup> Rayburn was as susceptible as most Americans to the Red Scare of 1919. On February 20, 1920, he asserted:

. . . I want to see our Americanization law strengthened. I believe in America for Americans. This country too small for any man or set of men who pay allegiance to any other Government or any other flag. This is no place for the man who violates our law—be he high or low, rich or poor. The anarchist and the Bolshevik shall go. This is a mighty good country because 99 per cent of the people regardless of section or party, are good citizens and loyal.<sup>64</sup>

In 1920, Rayburn earned the right to his fifth congressional term by defeating Richard Edwin (Ed) Westbrook. Rayburn spoke in the Midwest in behalf of the Democratic ticket of James Cox and Franklin Roosevelt. In the Harding landslide, the Republicans won a majority of 22 in the Senate, and 167 in the House. Champ Clark, Cordell Hull and Henry T. Rainey, of Illinois, were among the Democratic victims. So many Democratic members of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee lost their seats in the Republican congressional victories in 1918 and 1920 that Rayburn moved up the committee seniority ladder.

Rayburn, who had amounted to little in Washington's political and social circles in 1913, had a remarkable career in his first four terms in the Wilson administrations. His Stock and Bond Bill formed a major part of the Wilson anti-trust program, and was enacted almost in toto by the Republican

Congress in the Esch-Cummings Bill of 1920.<sup>48</sup> He amended the Carmack amendment to protect railroad shippers; he played a vital role in the formation and passage of the war risk insurance of World War I; and he was instrumental in returning the railroads to private ownership. Most important, he had gained valuable seniority on the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, an excellent understanding of the House's complicated rules, procedures and methods, and the support of highly influential "House Democrats."

The domination of the federal government by the majority Republican party, Alben Barkley's position of seniority on the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, and opposition from the American Railway Union, the Ku Klux Klan, and the Farmers Tenant Union in the Fourth District were the major obstacles to Rayburn's advance in the House of Representatives.

### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Quoted in Neil MacNeill, *Forge of Democracy; the House of Representatives* (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1963), p. 128. (Hereinafter cited as MacNeil, *Forge of Democracy*.)

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 128.

<sup>3</sup>Dwayne L. Little, "The Congressional Career of Sam Rayburn, 1913-1961," (Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Cincinnati, 1962), p. 21. (Hereinafter cited as Little, "Sam Rayburn.")

<sup>4</sup>C. Dwight Dorrough, *Mr. Sam* (New York: Random House, 1962), pp. 122-123. (Hereinafter cited as Dorrough, *Mr. Sam*.)

<sup>5</sup>Alexander Graham Shanks, "Sam Rayburn and the New Deal, 1933-1936," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1965), p. 7.

<sup>6</sup>*House Journal of the Texas Legislature*, 31 Cong., 1 Sess. (Austin, Texas: Von Boeckmann-Jones Company Printers, 1909), pp. 98, 99, 113.

<sup>7</sup>Dorrough, *Mr. Sam*, p. 89; See also William S. White, *The Professional: Lyndon B. Johnson* (New York: Fawcett Co., 1964), p. 70.

<sup>8</sup>Author's interview with Marvin Jones, Washington D.C., September 9, 1965. (Hereinafter cited as author's interview with Marvin Jones, September 9, 1965); Author's interview with Dwight B. Hardeman, Washington, D.C., August 11, 1963.) In the 1960's the Texas House elected a speaker younger than Rayburn.

<sup>9</sup>*Thirteenth Census of the United States*, (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1911), p. 818.

<sup>10</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 818; Valton J. Young, *The Speaker's Agent* (New York: Vantage Press, 1956), pp. 78-79; Author's interview with Dr. Joe Risser, Bonham, Texas, June 9, 1965.

<sup>11</sup>Dorrough, *Mr. Sam*, pp. 115-116.

<sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 119.

<sup>13</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 135.

<sup>14</sup>Thomas Terry Connally, *My Name is Tom Connally* as told to Alfred



Steinberg (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1954), p. 111.

<sup>15</sup>*Congressional Record*, 63 Cong., 1 Sess., (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1913), L, 1247. (Hereinafter cited as *Congressional Record*, 63 Cong., 1 Sess.)

<sup>16</sup>Ray Stannard Baker, *Woodrow Wilson Life and Letters* (London: William Heinemann, Ltd., 1932), IV, p. 373; See also Little, "Sam Rayburn," p. 27.

<sup>17</sup>Arthur S. Link, *Wilson, The New Freedom* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1956), pp. 425-426. (Hereinafter cited as Link, *Wilson, The New Freedom*); *The New York Times*, May 8, 1914, 6:1. Rayburn was a member of the subcommittee which drew up the Trade Commission Bill.

<sup>18</sup>*Congressional Record*, 63 Cong. 2 Sess., (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1915), LI, 9689. (Hereinafter cited as *Congressional Record*, 63 Cong., 2 Sess.); *New York Times*, June 4, 1914, p. 20. The committee divided the bill into two bills, so one would stand if the Supreme Court voided the other.

<sup>19</sup>*New York Times*, June 6, 1914, 1:3.

<sup>20</sup>*Congressional Record*, 63 Cong., 2 Sess., LI, 9684; Dewey Wesley Grant-ham, Jr., "Southern Congressional Leaders and the New Freedom, 1913-1917," Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N.C., 1946), p. 35. (Hereinafter cited as Grantham, "Southern Congressional Leaders.") See also Dewey Wesley Grantham, Jr., "Texas Congressional Leaders and the New Freedom, 1913-1917," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* (July, 1949), LIII, pp. 39-40. (Hereinafter cited as Grantham, "Texas Congressional Leaders.").

<sup>21</sup>*Congressional Record*, 63 Cong., 2 Sess., LI, 9684, 9687; *New York Times*, May 8, 1914, 6:1.

<sup>22</sup>*Ibid.*, 9685.

<sup>23</sup>*Ibid.*, 9912; Grantham, "Southern Congressional Leaders," p. 35; Little, "Sam Rayburn," p. 27; Grantham, "Texas Congressional Leaders," p. 42.

<sup>24</sup>Woodrow Wilson to Sam Rayburn, June 9, 1914, in Samuel Taliaferro Rayburn Papers, Sam Rayburn Library, Bonham, Texas. (Hereinafter cited as Rayburn MSS.).

<sup>25</sup>*New York Times*, June 20, 1914, 10:4; See also, Alfred Lief, *Brandeis; the Personal History of an American Ideal* (New York: Stackpole and Sons, 1936), p. 297.

<sup>26</sup>*New York Times*, June 3, 14, September 7, 1914, 8:4; Link, *Wilson, the New Freedom*, pp. 426-427; See also Little, "Sam Rayburn," p. 31. On opposition to the Rayburn bill which was almost identical with the Federal Securities Act of 1933, see *New York Times*, June 12, August 28, 1914.

<sup>27</sup>Dorough, *Mr. Sam*, pp. 126-128.

<sup>28</sup>Sam Rayburn to D. L. Dement, April 12, 1916, in Rayburn MSS; *Congressional Record*, 63 Cong., 2 Sess., LI, 6830.

<sup>29</sup>*New York Times*, March 17, 1915, 15:3.

<sup>30</sup>*Ibid.*, March 31, 1915, 10:7.

<sup>19</sup>*Ibid.*, March 22, 1915, 8:3.

<sup>20</sup>Arthur Stanley Link, *Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Era, 1910-1917*, in *New American Nation Series* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1954), p. 50. (Hereinafter cited as Link, *Progressive Era*.)

<sup>21</sup>*Congressional Record*, 63 Cong., 2 Sess., LI, 999, 3291, 6089; 63 Cong., 3 Sess., (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1915), LII, 1483-1484. (Hereinafter cited as *Congressional Record*, 63 Cong., 3 Sess.)

<sup>22</sup>*Congressional Record*, 63 Cong., 2 Sess., LI, 2911.

<sup>23</sup>*Ibid.*, 15772; *New York Times*, October 22, 1914, 3:2. For a discussion of the southern agrarian-Wilson clash of 1914 see Arthur S. Link, *Wilson; the Struggle for Neutrality* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1960), pp. 91-104. (Hereinafter cited as Link, *The Struggle For Neutrality*.)

<sup>24</sup>Link, *The Struggle For Neutrality*, pp. 98-99; *Congressional Record*, 63 Cong., 2 Sess., LI, 16210; *New York Times*, October 6, 1914, 8:2. As Democratic Majority Leader, and as Speaker Rayburn advised Freshmen House members that in order to get along, it was necessary to go along. Rayburn did not follow his famous adage when he was a freshman congressman. after cited as *Memorial Services*); Paul F. Healy, "They are just Crazy About Sam." *Saturday Evening Post*, CCXXIV (November 24, 1951), 23; Author's interview with Marvin Jones, September 9, 1965.

<sup>25</sup>*Congressional Record*, 64 Cong., 1 Sess., (Washington Government Printing Office, 1916), LII, 2340. (Hereinafter cited as *Congressional Record*, 64 Cong., 1 Sess.)

<sup>26</sup>*Ibid.*, LIV, 1042, 4731, 6376, 12697-12700; LIII, 13450, 13463; Link, *Progressive Era* p. 192.

<sup>27</sup>*Congressional Record*, 64 Cong., 1 Sess., LIII, 7272, 8017, 10886, 10916, 13608. Wilson and the Democrats were effective in keeping party members in line. "The Democratic caucus met regularly and its decisions were fairly binding. Indeed the Republicans often complained that the real debate on issues took place not on the floor of the House, where they had at least a voice, but in the caucus room."

<sup>28</sup>Anne Firor Scott, "The Southern Progressive in National Politics, 1906-1916," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Radcliffe University, 1957), pp. 186, 191. (Hereinafter cited as Scott, "Southern Progressives."); *Congressional Record*, 64 Cong., 1 Sess., LIII, 2035; Link, *Progressive Era*, p. 226.

<sup>29</sup>Sam Rayburn to H. E. Ellis, April 24, 1916 in Rayburn MSS; *Congressional Record*, 63 Cong., 3 Sess., LII, 3836.

<sup>30</sup>Dorough, *Mr. Sam*, p. 127.

<sup>31</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 126-128; Author's interview with Mr. S. E. Bartley, June 5, 1965; Author's interview with Buck Henson, Ivanhoe, Bonham, Texas, June 7, 1965; Author's interview with Charles M. Watson, Bonham, Texas, June 11, 1965.

<sup>32</sup>Dorough, *Mr. Sam*, pp. 127-133; Bascom Nolly Timmons, *Houston Chronicle*, December 12, 1961, in *Memorial Services Held in the House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States. Together and Remarks Presented in Eulogy of Sam Rayburn: Late a Representative of Texas*



(Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1962), p. 297. (Herein-

<sup>45</sup>Bascom Nolly Timmons, *Houston Chronicle*, October 11, 12, 1961, in *Memorial Services*.

<sup>46</sup>MacNeil, *Forge of Democracy*, p. 82.

<sup>47</sup>Josep Alsop and Robert Kintner, "Never Leave Them Angry," *Saturday Evening Post*, CCXIII (January 18, 1941), 77-78.

<sup>48</sup>Moley, *Masters of Politics*, p. 244.

<sup>49</sup>Author's interview with Columbus C. Baker, Bonham, Texas, June 9, 1965; Author's interview with Dr. Risser, June 9, 1965; Valdimar Orlando Key, *Southern Politics in State and Nation* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949), pp. 254-255. (Hereinafter cited as Key, *Southern Politics*).

<sup>50</sup>Key, *Southern Politics*, pp. 244-245; Bascom N. Timmons, *Garner of Texas, a Personal History* (New York: Harper, 1948), pp. 185, 191, 260.

<sup>51</sup>Key, *Southern Politics*, pp. 254-255. Garner became disenchanted with the New Deal and broke with Roosevelt during his second term.

<sup>52</sup>*Congressional Record*, 65 Cong., Special Sess., LV, 413.

<sup>53</sup>*Ibid.*, 65 Cong., 2 Sess., LVII 2394, 2395.

<sup>54</sup>New York Times, August 8, 1917, 6:7; See also Frederic L. Paxson, *America at War, 1917-1918* (Boston): Houghton Mifflin Co., 1939), pp. 206-207.

<sup>55</sup>New York Times, September 14, 1917, 4:1; Little "Sam Rayburn," p. 39.

<sup>56</sup>Paul Douglas, "War Risk Insurance Act," *Journal of Political Economy*, XXVI, (May, 1918), p. 481; See also W. F. Gephart, "War Risk Insurance Act of the United States," *American Economic Review* VIII, March, 1918, pp. 195-207. In 1919, Rayburn introduced a bill for increased compensation to disabled soldiers. He also opposed Republican efforts to place soldiers' insurance under the control of the Pension Office.

<sup>57</sup>*Congressional Record*, 65 Cong., Sess., LVI, 7554.

<sup>58</sup>*Ibid.*, 64 Cong., 2 Sess., LVI, 800; New York Times, January 4, 1917, 5:1; Bonham Daily Favorite, January 5, 1957.

<sup>59</sup>New York Times, February 3, 1918, 1:4.

<sup>60</sup>*Congressional Record*, 66 Cong., 2 Sess., LIX, 3209.

<sup>61</sup>*Ibid.*, 66 Cong., 1 Sess., LVIII, 8375. Rayburn wanted to pay the railroad owners a payment equal to the last three years earnings, and to divide the power to establish railroad rates between the President and the ICC.

<sup>62</sup>New York Times, August 8, 1914, 1:4.

<sup>63</sup>*Congressional Record*, 64 Cong., 2 Sess., LIV, 2457, 4690, 4692, 6186, 24442; LV, 4290 LIX, 2713, 6538; Paxson, *America at War*, II, p. 132. Rayburn voted for the Transportation Act of 1920 despite his opposition to the statutory rule of rate making.

<sup>64</sup>*Congressional Record*, 66 Cong., 2 Sess., LIX, 3209.

<sup>65</sup>Dorough, *Mr. Sam*, pp. 154-155. New York Times incorrectly reported that Rayburn appeared to have lost the election. New York Times, July 28, 1918, 12:2.

<sup>66</sup>Grantham, "Texas Congressional Leaders," p. 48; See also Link, Wilson, *The New Freedom*, pp. 425-426.